

THE EXAMINER.

"PROVE ALL THINGS; HOLD FAST THAT WHICH IS GOOD."

LOUISVILLE, KY.: SATURDAY MARCH 24, 1849.

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THE EXAMINER;

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PAUL SEYMOUR,
PUBLISHER.

To the Freemen of Kentucky.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: The individual who now addresses you, is an old farmer, a citizen and a native of Kentucky, and feeling a deep interest in the peace and happiness of his posterity, and in the welfare and progressive improvement of his native State, he takes the liberty thus publicly to call your attention to the importance of the present crisis.

The freemen of Kentucky, have, at two successive elections, ordered the call of a Convention, which will meet at Frankfort, on the first day of October next, to revise and amend our State Constitution. I presume, it is known to you all, that in the formation of a constitution or form of government for a State, every voter has the right, and no one a better right than another, to express freely and independently his own opinions and wishes as to what ought to be the form of government under which he is to live, and therefore, the constitution soon to be framed for the government of the good people of Kentucky, ought to be made in conformity to the judgment and wishes of the majority of her free citizens.

Of all the questions now legitimately submitted to the consideration and decision of the sovereign freemen of Kentucky, there is perhaps no other, of so much importance, in its consequences, affecting the future weal or woe of our beloved Commonwealth, as the question of perpetual slavery or gradual emancipation.

It is of the utmost importance, to our future peace and prosperity, that every citizen should have a thorough knowledge and a proper understanding of this momentous question.

It will be admitted by almost every intelligent, candid and disinterested man, that slavery is a great evil. That it is inconsistent with our republican form of government, and that it is based upon, and sustained (I had like to have said alone) by that principle, that exists in some men—a desire to avoid labor themselves, and to live by the sweat of other people's faces. It will, however, be acknowledged that there are many good citizens who are opposed to any change in the present Constitution, so far as relates to the institution of slavery. But it is believed that their opposition arises, more from an apprehension, that there is no probable remedy for the evil, than from any particular desire that it should be made perpetual. While on the other hand, it is well known that a large proportion of our best citizens, pure patriots and most distinguished statesmen, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, who, having seen and felt the evil, and having experienced sorrowfully its blighting influence in all our social, moral and political relations, have come to the honest conviction, that it can be, and ought to be gradually brought to an end. Such men as these are scattered throughout every county, all over the State. They are an honor to their country and are Kentucky's best friends. And notwithstanding the tongue of slander may assail them, and malice may strive to undermine their fair fame, yet, the purity of their characters will remain unsullied, and their honesty of purpose will elevate them above the reach of any selfish or unworthy motive. To such men it becomes us all to lend a listening ear. Let us appreciate their independence of character, their devotedness to the best interests of Kentucky, and to the amelioration of the condition of both our white and our black population. Let us profit by their wise counsels and bright examples; and by our united action diffuse over the whole State, a wholesome influence, in a fair, happy and final settlement of this great question. We may rest assured that "where there is a will there is a way." Let it be borne in mind that we do not wish to abolish slavery. We do not wish to change the relation now subsisting between masters and their slaves, nor to affect their right of property in the slaves now in existence. We only desire to adopt some constitutional provision, by the operation of which, such descendants of our black population, as may be born in Kentucky, after a day to be fixed by the Convention, shall, if they remain here beyond a certain age, be ultimately emancipated and removed elsewhere.

By a process of this kind, slavery would not be abolished, but would be permitted to die a natural and early death.

Slaveholders would continue to be slaveholders, as long as they live, and slaves would continue to be slaves as long as they live. But as death is no respecter of persons, so both masters and their slaves will in time be compelled to pay their last debt to nature. So, when the hand that now directs this pen shall have been committed to its mother Earth, and when every mortal, that now claims property in his fellow man, shall no longer be numbered among those of the living, then slavery will have ceased; and then, oh how joyous the day, when!

Kentucky will be, without master or slave.

"The land of the free and the home of the brave."

Fellow-citizens, this is the first time within the last half century, that you have been permitted to decide for yourselves, whether Kentucky shall continue to be the nursery of slavery, or the cradle of freedom! To you, the freemen, the voters of Kentucky, and to you alone, belong the power and the right, to decide this momentous question, by the exercise of your elective franchise, at the ensuing August election, in the choice of delegates to represent you in the Convention. If you shall desire the perpetual continuance of slavery in Kentucky, you will vote for such candidates as may declare themselves in favor of such continuance. But if you shall prefer that slavery shall ultimately cease to exist in your native State, you will cast your votes for such candidates as will truly represent your wishes, and for no others. Upon your judicious and humane decision in this great question, rest, and in all probability, will depend the happiness or misery of thousands of unborn human beings. It is our duty to reflect seriously upon this subject. Let it be remembered, that there are in Kentucky, about 200,000 black people, of which nearly 193,000 are slaves. That the great majority of these slaves occupy the best lands of the State, for, as their masters are rich men, they will own the rich lands, and will own the slaves to cultivate them, so long as slavery shall be tolerated here. We know, because every day's experience proves the fact, that in proportion as slaves multiply, the poorer class of white population are either forced or induced with their families, to abandon the homes of their nativity, to make room for the increasing numbers of slaves in the best portions of Kentucky. Now, with these facts staring us in the face, the simple question is presented to the mind of every candid man—Will it not be the true policy of the good people of Kentucky, to adopt some constitutional provision, which will not only effectually put a stop to the increase of our black population, but will ultimately have the effect, by death and removal, to rid the State of every slave and every black face?

Fellow-citizens, it is your privilege and your duty to decide this great question, according to the dictates of reason, justice and patriotism. If then, you shall believe that perpetual slavery is founded upon the eternal principles of justice—that it exists by the command of the great Father of the whole human race—that Heaven will smile more graciously upon a slaveholder than upon one who is not—and that a man is a greater sinner for not being a slaveholder, if you shall believe that slavery is not an evil, but a blessing, a great good, to any State or country where it may happen to be tolerated; if you shall believe, from the example and experience of different States of the Union, that the slave States are more prosperous—that they increase more rapidly in population, in wealth and importance than the free States; if you shall believe that in times of difficulty and danger, in wars and rumors of wars, you could rely with more confidence for protection and defence on a slave population, than upon a community of freemen; if you shall believe that perpetual slavery will contribute to the steady industrious habits of your children—promote in them a reliance upon their own exertions, give to them strong, active minds, energy of character and robust constitutions, and add to their usefulness, peace and happiness; if you shall believe all this, then of course you will take upon yourselves the responsibility of casting your votes for such candidates as will advocate its indefinite continuance. And then the sin of slavery (if slavery be a sin) will no longer rest upon your representatives, but upon yourself. But on the other hand, if you shall believe that liberty is one of the greatest blessings that man can enjoy, and that slavery is one of the greatest wrongs that has ever been inflicted by man upon his weaker and more defenceless fellow man; if you shall believe that it was for liberty, and not for slavery, or the power of enslaving our fellow men, that the venerated fathers of our glorious revolution fought and bled and died; if you shall believe that small farmers newly cultivated by the free, intelligent owners of the soil, will add more to the peace, safety, population, improvement and general prosperity of the State, than large tracts of the choice lands of the State, owned comparatively by a few citizens, and partially cultivated in a careless manner, principally by their slaves; if you shall believe that while many of our sister States have succeeded in dissolving the bonds of slavery, and thereby ridding themselves of its evils, not one State among them all has ever been willing to tolerate slavery the second time; and that this fact should furnish an unanswerable argument against the permanent existence of slavery in Kentucky. And, finally, if you shall believe that by adopting some just, reasonable and proper provision in our new constitution for the gradual emancipation and removal of the descendants of our black population, that you will thereby greatly better the condition of both our white and black people, wipe away the dark stain that now disfigures our republican institutions, and add to the virtue, peace and usefulness of your children, and to the permanent improvement, happiness and prosperity of our beloved Commonwealth. All of which, I am persuaded, you cannot help believing. Then you will feel constrained by the sacred duty which you owe to your Creator, your country and your children, to cast your votes with the conscious independence of freemen, for such candidates as will truly represent your wishes.

Fellow-citizens, let us not forget that the means necessary for promoting the good of mankind are always within their control, and that now it is only necessary that you should meet together, name your candidates, and vote for such only as will advocate the adoption of some plan of gradual emancipation, that will be most satisfactory to the greatest number of our free citizens. Let us remember, that the memories of the friends of freedom will continue to be cherished and venerated by the wise and good of all nations, so long as justice shall be esteemed a virtue or liberty a blessing; and that their names will be handed down in a halo of glory to future ages, long after the names of the advocates of slavery shall have been buried beneath the cold dark waters of oblivion! Let us remember that the eyes of the civilized world are upon us, and that the prayers of the friends of liberty are everywhere daily offered up to the throne of the Omnipotent for our success! Let us remember that our object is the promotion of the true interests and permanent welfare of our posterity and our State; and that, guided by the dictates of wisdom and patriotism, and cheered by the smiles of Heaven, the justice of our cause and the honest convictions of our own judgment, we cannot fail of success in despite of the denunciations and combined opposition of designing partisans and wary politicians; by whom untold efforts may be made to control the will and nullify the sovereignty of the great mass of our

Common People.

Bourbon County, Feb. 26, 1849.

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Senator Houston vs. Senator Calhoun.

The *Intelligencer* of the 8th contains a long address from Senator Houston to his constituents, but devoted exclusively to Mr. Calhoun.

The cause whereof is thus stated by Gen. Houston:—"In a speech at Charleston he assumed that, but for my defection, as he was pleased to consider it, and that of another Senator (Mr. Benton) from a slaveholding State, the bill organizing the Government of Oregon would have been defeated, and thus another victory for the South over the North achieved."

The address charges Mr. Calhoun with being one of the principal contrivers of the "Tariff of 1816. Then leaped over and took the lead in opposition to the protective policy"—became the Commander-in-Chief of the Nullifiers—carried a bank through Congress—and was in favor of engraving upon the Constitution the "triple-headed monster of Tariff, Bank, and Internal Improvements." That he gave a written opinion, as member of Mr. Monroe's Cabinet, in favor of restricting the extension of Slavery in any portion of a Territory in which it had been authorized by law, and that this written opinion "has disappeared from the files of the Department."

That twice as a Cabinet officer, and once as Senator, he had "admitted the constitutional power of Congress to repress Slavery, even in Territories where it had a legal footing." And that now Mr. Calhoun, "this vigilant guardian of Southern rights, who, it has been seen, was ever ready to barter them to attain his selfish ends, is now laboring to make more inroads upon the right of the right of extension, both at the North and South, upon new and more ultra grounds."

The address notices parallel passages in "The Crisis" of 1835 and the address of Mr. Calhoun adopted by the Southern Caucus, and concludes by saying that while they "unmask his (Mr. Calhoun's) long cherished and ill-concealed designs against the Union, I feel some pride in the conviction that it unmasks also his motive for the denunciation aimed at me. If the advocacy of a measure which removed one cause of contention, tending to produce an ill-feeling, if not a rupture, between the members of the Confederacy—if opposition to all the schemes of mad fanaticism at the North, and mad ambition at the South, which would embroil the country in civil war, provoke assaults upon me, there is no man living who will give me a heartier welcome. It is some evidence that I stand in the way of the rash assaults and the deep plots of the wicked, to subvert their own unwholesome ambition, put in jeopardy the welfare and liberties of my country. I oppose both as co-operating to produce the same mischief, however hostile to each other. But the weak enthusiast who speculates and vociferates, has less of my abhorrence than the wicked conspirator who concentrates the force of every strong passion to make a fatal blow at the vitals of the Republic."

From the Newark Sentinel.

Houses and Furniture.

Having been sometimes permitted to peep into the habitations of the great, and to contemplate the vast outlay which men of means bestow on architecture, furniture and ornament, I have had many thoughts about the degrees in which genuine comfort is increased by all this labor and expense; and the result is (it will doubtless be thought the prejudice of a plebeian), that wealth and fashion are not sufficient to secure the realities of a delightful home. It is not true, that whenever we sit down to imagine a dwelling of unmingled excellence, in which one might wish to live and die, we figure to ourselves not so much a bright, elegant, spooler, ring-lined, symmetrical, lofty, lacquered, varnished, gilded mansion, as one that is roomy, warm, airy, easy, convenient, even at the risk of being somewhat irregular! Into the ideal of a homestead, there always enter, as constituents, the notions of comfort and snugness. A house, as well as a habit, may be too fine. As the man of true politeness is he in whose presence you feel perfectly at ease, so the house you love to enter, is that in which you lose all constraint at the door. Compare the palace of a parvenu, where you scarcely dare to tread on the Turkey-carpet or sit down on the velvet fauteuil, or apply a poker to the brilliant grate, with the fine old country mansion of a hereditary manor, in which the glossy furniture is dark with age, and the capacious fireplace sheds its ruddy light on guests, whose fathers sat there with Washington, the Livingstons, and men of the Revolution. True, no planning and no expense can create qualities which belong to age; but much may be accomplished by preferring the use and convenience, and noble hospitality, to the fashion of the hour.

Some of the flagrant errors of modern houses arise from the practice of consigning the whole plan and details to builders, interior decorators and cabinet-makers—the result being a toyshop glitter. With all the egregious follies of the late king of Bavaria, he has never been refused the character of a man of taste in the fine arts; and this he never displayed more happily than in his order to the director of his new palace: "Let there be no upholstery."

It is impossible to infuse such ideas into the head of a man who measures everything by dollars; for what is his house with its contents, but a public advertisement of his means? A noble old tree, a broad inviting hall, a suit of irregular but tasteful chambers, cannot be bought or bespoken, like *scagliola*, marble and moldings. In the life of *Atticus*, the friend of *Cicero*, and the *arbitrator elegantiarum* of his day, *Cornelius Nepos* has given one or two fine traits, germane to my subject. Though *Atticus* was a moneyed man, he was far from being given to buying or building; *nemo illo minus fuit emax, minus adificator*; yet he lived in the best style, and had everything of the best about him. He inherited from his uncle a house on the Quirinal, which was remarkable not so much for its architecture, as its grove; *non adificio, plus vilis*. It showed more taste than cost; *plus satis quam sumptus habebat*. No changes were made for mere show. Let me add, though by way of digression, there were in that mansion a number of literary slaves, good readers and judges of books; indeed there was not a body-servant who had not these accomplishments.

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Something of the same mind was in the late poet Southey. "I would," says he, "either buy a house to my mind, or build one; and it should be such as a house ought to be, which I once heard a glorious agriculturist define, 'a house that should have in it everything that is voluptuous, and necessary and right.' In my acceptance of that felicitous definition (adds he) I request the reader to understand that everything which is right is intended, and nothing but what is perfectly so; that is to say, I mean every possible accommodation conducive to health and comfort. It should be large enough for my friends, and not so large as to serve as a hotel for my acquaintance." And what the poet adds, about dress, reveals a principle equally applicable to parlors and bedrooms: "I would not wear my coat quite so threadbare as I do at present; but I would still keep to my old shoes, so long as they would keep to me."

There is in all this no cynical contempt of elegance, but only a more refined luxury. Where modern invention has added to real comfort, as in warming, lighting, baths and the like, let every such appliance be adopted; but not a niche or a spangle for simple display, or because it is *Parisian*. Within certain bounds and where the "keeping" of the picture is maintained, no objection lies against a graceful imitation of antiquity; especially where massive irregularity and generous freedom remind one of manorial halls. Not long since I visited the new house of a friend, and was delighted to find myself in a spacious apartment, wainscoted on every side with unpainted oak, and with all the furniture to correspond; it is impossible to describe the air of warm homeliness which this conferred on everything in the room. But the beauty of it was, that it was after no prevalent city mode. More than common patience is required, to look with equanimity on the frail, tumbly objects, which occupy the floors of many gorgeous saloons, making them resemble a tinny museum, or a child's fire. If you have articles of virtue, by all means let them be seen; but pithee do not rush to a fancy store and buy